RICHARD PRICE AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

BY

JOHN PHILIP AGNEW

A.B., University of Illinois, 1942
A.M., University of Illinois, 1947

AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY
IN THE GRADUATE COLLEGE OF THE
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A few libraries in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain have a substantial amount of material concerning Price, and to their librarians I am particularly obligated for locating manuscripts and helping me to obtain photostatic and microfilm copies of them. My sincere thanks go to Mr. Stephen K. Jones, formerly of Dr. Williams's Library, London, to Miss Gertrude D. Hess, Assistant Librarian of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, to Mr. Stephen T. Riley, Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, and to Miss Caroline D. Hiatt, Curator of Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library, for their personal assistance in my search for Price manuscripts. I further wish to express appreciation to the many other librarians who materially aided me in locating Price material. For suggestions relating to the subject of Richard Price, I wish to thank also Professor Carl B. Cone of the University of Kentucky.

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RICHARD PRICE AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

"There is nothing in the course of my life that I reflect upon with more Satisfaction than the part I have taken in the present struggle with America." Thus in a letter to John Temple in 1780, while his country was at war with the newly established United States, Richard Price revealed justifiable pride in his efforts on behalf of the people in America in their struggle for liberty. Defying the taunts, criticism, and abuse of many Englishmen, he remained steadfast in his support of the American cause throughout the war. Through his published writings and private correspondence he constantly encouraged his American friends to keep up the fight until they were secure in the enjoyment of their rights. Moreover, after the conflict ended and the United States were recognized as independent from Great Britain, Price continued to advise the Americans in an effort to help them avoid mistakes in the establishment of sound government.

Price, who was born in Wales in 1723, was a dissenting minister by profession rather than a politician. The son of a nonconformist clergyman, he received his education under the guidance of several able men who likewise were dissenting preachers. After serving several years in the capacity of personal chaplain to a well-to-do family in a London suburb, Price became a minister on a full-time basis. His interests were varied, however, and he spent many hours studying not only philosophical but also scientific subjects. As a consequence, his philosophical studies led to the publication of *A Review of the Principal Questions and Difficulties in Morals* as well as sermons and dissertations on religious subjects, and his scientific investigations produced several papers and books on mathematical and economic problems. His activity in the latter subjects produced contributions in the development of life insurance and old age assistance plans. As a result of his philosophical writings, he became acquainted with David Hume and the Earl of Shelburne, and as a consequence of his

scientific works, he commenced friendships with Joseph Priestley and Benjamin Franklin. Elected to fellowship in the Royal Society of London in 1765, he continued his active interest in scientific investigations. At the same time, however, he devoted much of his time to religious and philosophical studies, and following the publication of his *Four Dissertations,* he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity by Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 1767.

Prior to the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and her American colonies in 1775, Price had become acquainted with conditions in America. His close friendship with Benjamin Franklin resulted in a rather regular correspondence which continued until Franklin's death in 1790. Prior to the outbreak of the Revolution, Price had become a correspondent of other Americans including Charles Chauncy, minister of the First Church at Boston, Ezra Stiles, minister of the Second Congregational Church in Newport, Rhode Island, and later president of Yale, and John Winthrop, Hollis professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at Harvard. Moreover, between 1770 and the spring of 1775 he had become acquainted with Henry Marchant, attorney-general for Rhode Island, Josiah Quincy Jr., a young lawyer from Boston, and Francis Dana, a neighbor of Winthrop. All of these individuals had journeyed to England in an effort to influence Parliament to adopt measures more favorable to the colonies, and during their stay there they had met Richard Price. Through his American friends Price had become informed of the American point of view in the controversy with Parliament over its asserted right to make laws for and to tax the colonists. As a result of their letters, he had learned of the bitter hatred of Parliament and the British ministry which was almost daily increasing among the people in America. He thus had become aware of the growing feeling of unity in a common cause produced in part by the harsh measures directed against the inhabitants of Boston and the colony of Massachusetts. By the spring of 1775, moreover, his eyes had been opened to the possible consequences which might

follow British action taken against some of the colonies, for he believed that the ministry would go to great lengths to force the Americans to acknowledge the right of Britian to legislate for the colonies in all cases whatsoever, as asserted in the Declaratory Act (1766).

The outbreak of fighting between British forces and the colonists prompted Price to write a political work in which he opposed the war and supported the American cause. Prior to the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord, he had not published anything which so plainly revealed his political views concerning the position of the American colonies. However, the beginning of the struggle prompted him to write his *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America,* which he published toward the middle of February, 1776. Fifteen editions of the work appeared in London during that year, and it was reprinted in America and translated into Dutch, French, and German.

Price's *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty* was not designed to express new principles, but it contained unusual adaptions and applications of accepted ideas. Price's concepts were drawn largely from the writings of John Locke and other English writers of the Lockian tradition, and his application of them to the American problem resulted in his upholding the American cause in the struggle with Britain. A supporter of liberty everywhere, he believed that the American people were merely claiming rights which had been made secure for Englishmen through the Glorious Revolution and the Hanoverian succession. He refused to allow his position to be hampered by considerations of strict legality and constitutional orthodoxy, for he believed that the colonists had a case which should be decided according to moral principles rather than according to man-made statutes and precedents. As a consequence, Price viewed the controversy with the colonies as one involving inherent, fundamental, and inalienable rights. His ideas of liberty and government included a belief in natural equality, popular sovereignty,

adequate and complete representation, majority rule, local self-government, and the absence of an outside controlling power. Price concluded that the war with the colonies violated principles of justice by attempting to impose tyranny upon the Americans, that it violated the British constitution by denying them the right of taxing themselves and passing laws for their own government, that it was the result of a very unwise policy which might end in the loss of the American colonies, and that Britain's honor would suffer far more by continuing the war than by attempting to conciliate the Americans. Moreover, Price felt certain that Britain might be the loser in the struggle, for the Americans were fighting on their own soil to retain their liberty. Although he realized that the American people were not entirely faultless, he nevertheless supported their cause.

There were several replies to Price's book on the American struggle. In general they aimed at disproving his principles of liberty and government, thus rendering ineffective his arguments concerning the American colonies. Some were little more than sarcastic outpourings of abuse which called Price a democrat, an unpatriotic dissenter, a rabble rouser, a publicity seeker, a visionary, and even a traitor. Although most of the replies expressed a desire for an overwhelming British victory, none was willing to admit what Price feared — that Britain might lose the war. The large number of answers reflected the significance attached to Price's observations, however, for their authors feared his influence.

Although there was a large amount of adverse criticism of his book, Price received some very favorable comments. In a rather unusual action, the London City Council commended Price's book which was outspoken in its criticism of the British government and its colonial policy. Within a month after the book's appearance, the Council adopted a resolution to present its thanks to Price for publishing what it considered "those sure Principles upon which alone the supreme Legislative Authority of Great Britian over her Colonies can be justly or benefically maintained . . . . " The

Drapers Company of London also approved a motion voting Price the freedom of the company as a result of the publication of his book. Moreover, favorable comment was printed in some of the English review magazines, particularly *The Gentleman's Magazine* and *The Monthly Review.*

In spite of the criticism and abuse which followed the appearance of his first book dealing with the American struggle, Price continued to publish his sentiments favorable to the American cause. Early in 1777 he brought out his *Additional Observations on the Nature and Value of Civil Liberty* which repeated and strengthened his earlier remarks. He justified the American declaration of independence as an extreme step taken only after the British had refused to end hostilities against the Americans and had proclaimed them rebels. This book aroused less criticism than his earlier work, although the Archbishop of York spoke out against dissenters who preached doctrines which tended to be subversive. He suggested that perhaps restraints should be placed upon dissenters similar to those upon Roman Catholics. Only a few mild pamphlets were printed in reply to Price's *Additional Observations,* and their tone was less abusive than those following the appearance of his earlier work. Early in 1778, Price combined his two books dealing with the war with America into a single volume which appeared under the title *Two Tracts on Civil Liberty.* In the general introduction to this volume he replied to Edmund Burke, who had stated that expedience was the true basis for government, and he also took notice of the remarks of the Archbishop of York. He predicted that America would become "A rising Empire, extending over an immense continent, without Bishops, — without Nobles, — and without Kings." Once again he advised the British government to conciliate the Americans before it was too late — before they signed an alliance with France.

Price also delivered two sermons before his congregation at Hackney which supported the American cause. The first was prompted by remarks of the Bishop of London in his Ash-

Wednesday sermon in 1779, and it was presented on a fast-day in February of that year. Its tone was pessimistic concerning Britain's prospects in the war, and it repeated many of Price's earlier observations which supported the Americans. Again in February, 1781, Price preached a sermon to his congregation in which he briefly reviewed the British measures that had produced the war, and he once more uttered remarks which upheld the Americans in their refusal to submit to despotic rule. Without boasting he mentioned events which he had predicted before their occurrence, and he insisted that he had tried to act the part of a good citizen in warning against the calamity which he feared would attend Britain's attempt to force the colonies to accept subjugation. This discourse was Price's last during the war, for the struggle soon reached its concluding stages. The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in October, 1781, practically ended the war, although Britain's recognition of the United States as an independent country was delayed until the signing of the final peace in 1783.

Price's deep concern over the future of the American people was clearly revealed in his correspondence. Even while the war was in progress he and his American friends succeeded in their efforts to continue their correspondence in spite of all the difficulties attending such attempts. As secrecy was of utmost importance, initials were often used in place of complete names of people. During the course of the war Price acquired additional American correspondents, and although many of their letters probably were destroyed after they had been received, enough of them have survived to reveal his continued good wishes on behalf of the American people.

Although Price's correspondence with his American friends was at first chiefly concerned with philosophical and scientific subjects, politics and American grievances soon became the important topic discussed in them. His correspondents were chiefly professional men, college professors and presidents, ministers, lawyers, doctors, and government

officials. As early as the beginning of 1773, Price had been informed by Chauncy of the "unhappy situation" of political affairs in America, and until the outbreak of hostilities at Lexington and Concord he continued to hear regularly about the controversy from the American point of view. Chauncy, Winthrop, and Josiah Quincy, Jr. kept Price informed of the increasingly distressing events in America, and Price assured them that he supported the Americans in their struggle to retain their liberties. In the early months of 1775, Price indicated his belief that the people of America should resort to arms if necessary to give security to their rights. Referring to a feeling then current in Britain that the Americans were fanatics who would not fight, Price wrote to Quincy: "I am in hopes of hearing some time or other that your countrymen have wiped off these aspersions from their characters, and proved to the confusion of their vile slanderers that they deserve to be *free* by showing themselves *brave.*" Although Price was not suggesting rebellion, he was hopeful that the Americans would resist all British attempts of oppression even to the point of being forced to fight. He believed that a determined opposition by the Americans to coercive measures would force the administration to attempt conciliation.

Throughout the war Price and his American friends continued their correspondence. Accounts of the early fighting beginning with Lexington and Concord were sent to him by Winthrop, Chauncy, and Edward Wigglesworth, professor of divinity at Harvard. Franklin wrote Priestley a letter in which he asked that Price be consulted to ascertain, in view of the determination of the Americans as revealed at Bunker Hill, how long it would take British forces to wipe out the Americans and overrun their territory. Shelburne notified Price in October, 1775, that he considered the colonies lost. Even after learning of the Declaration of Independence, Price remained a stalwart champion of American rights. Although he had at first envisioned the colonists remaining within the Empire, he was unwilling that they be forced to do so as a

subjugated people. However, he still hoped that they might be influenced to return to British rule if their rights were assured recognition and security. Arthur Lee, a lawyer from Massachusetts, wrote to Price to thank him for publishing his sentiments on the American struggle, and Price commenced a correspondence with him. Although Price was not threatened with physical violence because of his views, Franklin learned that some of his friends were apprehensive that the government might seek to quiet him. Price learned from Baron Jan Derck van der Capellen, an enthusiastic Dutch advocate of the American cause, that his books on the American war had been translated into Dutch, his *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty* having appeared in two editions within a year. In the late spring of 1778, Price anxiously questioned Franklin concerning unfavorable rumors to the effect that the Americans were tiring of the war and of Washington's leadership. He hoped that they were false, but he wanted to be sure that the Americans would not capitulate.

Near the end of 1778, the American Continental Congress paid a remarkable tribute to Price. Anxious to secure competent aid in regulating the country's finances, the Congress adopted a resolution directing Franklin, Lee, and John Adams to inform Price that "it is the desire of Congress to consider him as a citizen of the United States and to receive his assistance in regulating their finances . . . . " The three commissioners, then at Paris, forwarded the request of Congress in a letter to Price, and Lee wrote an additional letter urging him to give the infant country his assistance. However, Price replied that his advancing years and duties in England prevented him from accepting the kind offer of the American Congress, although he felt highly honored by their request. He indicated that he expected some day to communicate to the Americans some observations on government made by a great man together with a few additional observations of his own, for he hoped to contribute to the improvement of the forms of government there.

During the next two years, as the events of the war

became more favorable to the Americans, Price continued to write words of encouragement to his American friends. Chauncy, Lee, Franklin, and others wrote frequent letters to keep him informed. Although the death of John Winthrop deprived Price of one of his correspondents, he began writing to additional Americans, including James Bowdoin, a prominent Massachusetts statesman, Joseph Willard, president of Harvard, John Temple, Bowdoin's son-in-law, Henry Laurens, an important South Carolina delegate to the Continental Congress, and Benjamin Rush, an eminent surgeon of Philadelphia. Although Price had come to favor American independence by 1780, he was doubtful whether the British would treat the Americans as a separate country. As the American successes multiplied, Price wrote more freely to his friends in the United States. He indicated satisfaction in the part that he had taken in the struggle which he hoped would result in liberty and justice. Encouraged by a change in the ministry in 1782, he revealed optimism concerning the signing of a peace treaty. He wrote that, if his wishes could have had any influence, the new ministers would have opened negotiations for a general peace as soon as they had entered office.

Following the signing of the peace treaties, Price hastened to congratulate his American friends for the success of the United States in their struggle. Happy to have had even a small part in the controversy, he indicated his optimism concerning the future of the new nation, and he expressed the hope that the United States would always protect and make secure the liberties which they had won. The American people acknowledged Price's assistance and encouragement on their behalf. On April 24, 1781, Yale granted Price and George Washington the degree of Doctor of Laws, although the war was still in progress. Moreover, on January 20, 1782, Price was unanimously elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston, a tribute to his efforts on behalf of the American cause.

Price continued to send words of advice and encourage-

ment to his American friends after the end of the war. Considering the Revolution "one of the most important struggles that ever took place among mankind," he hoped to be able to assist the infant United States to establish sound governments. In 1784, he had his *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution, and the Means of Making It a Benefit to the World* privately printed for distribution in the United States. Within a couple of years the work was reprinted several times in America as well as in England, and it was translated into French. Price sent several copies of the book to his American correspondents for distribution among the American people, and these together with those printed in the United States served to acquaint the people in America of his views.

Price included in his book several suggestions which he thought would be helpful for the new nation. He advised the United States to take immediate steps to discharge their public debts in order to found a stable economy. He also suggested that the powers of Congress be strengthened so that it could levy taxes and call out the militia when needed without relying on the various states to furnish their quotas, for he felt that only a strong federal authority could satisfactorily settle disputes between states. Furthermore, he warned them to take steps to protect freedom of speech, of thought, of the press, and of religion. Other suggestions dealt with complete religious liberty as contrasted with toleration, education which aimed at teaching people how to think instead of what to believe, an equitable distribution of property, hereditary honors and titles, excessive reliance on foreign trade, and undue confidence in a public bank. He denounced Negro slavery and the slave trade and advised the new nation to take immediate steps to end those practices. Price reminded the United States that upon them rested the success of the finest experiment ever tried in human affairs and that their failure would result in a discouragement to all future efforts in favor of liberty. At the end of his book he appended a letter written to him in 1778 by Turgot, the reform-minded

French minister of finances, who thought he saw weakness in the constitutions of the United States then in existence. It was this letter of Turgot to Price which prompted John Adams to write his *Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America.*

The American people received Price's suggestions very favorably. Ebenezer Hazard, postmaster-general, wrote that the people in the United States ought to follow the advice contained in the book, although he feared that the Americans preferred leading to following. Chauncy notified Price of his approval, as did James Bowdoin, newly elected governor of Massachusetts, and Jonathan Trumbull, former governor of Connecticut. Washington and Jefferson heartily concurred with Price's sentiments concerning strengthening the powers of Congress, and Mesech Weare, president of the Commonwealth of New Hampshire, advised his assembly to read Price's remarks. Price feared that the Americans would not approve his advice concerning Negro slavery, but Jefferson and Laurens assured him that only a few southern states would oppose those views.

Price continued to correspond with individual Americans, although he turned down requests from Rush and Jefferson that he write additional words of advice for them. Interested in the events which led to the convening of the Annapolis and Philadelphia Conventions, he was enthusiastic in his applause for the Constitution which resulted from the latter meeting. Moreover, he was happy to see Pennsylvania repeal her religious test act and Virginia to pass a law for complete religious liberty. Once again Americans paid tribute to Price, when on January 22, 1785, the American Philosophical Society elected him to membership along with Thaddeus Kosciuzko, James Madison, the Rev. Henry E. Muhlenberg, and Thomas Paine. By this and his other honors, as well as by his American friendships, Price gained partial amends for the abuse which his own countrymen had heaped upon him during the Revolution.

Probably the most striking feature of Price's political thinking with regard to America was his perspicacity. It is remarkable that a man of his profession and training, lacking any practical experience in governmental office, could have displayed the acute political vision with which he forecast many of the events connected with the American struggle. He predicted that the Americans would declare independence and that they would form an alliance with France. Moreover, anticipating weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation, he suggested strengthening the powers of Congress and making secure the liberties and civil rights of the people. One of his political visions which did not become a reality was a project for uniting the countries of Europe into a single state for the regulation of common concerns, internal problems being left to the individual states for solution. Furthermore, some of the economic calamity which he feared might overtake Britain did not occur as he anticipated, but his warnings served to interest the British people in the problem of their growing national debt. In political affairs, the calm though critical analysis with which Price viewed contemporary events helped to furnish him with remarkable vision.

Any attempt to evaluate the interest and support which Richard Price devoted to the American Revolution must consider his approach to the struggle. He was an outspoken advocate of liberty for people everywhere, and he looked upon the American problem as one of moral philosophy. Essentially a reformer who believed in the doctrine of progress, he sought to create a new and better form of society in which liberty would be secure. Upholding the principles of natural equality, inalienable rights, the sovereignty of the people, and majority rule, he opposed what appeared to him to be oppressive British measures unjustly directed against the Americans. Imbued with the ideas of Locke and generations of English Whigs, he believed that the sovereignty of the people had become a principle of the British constitution through the Glorious Revolution and the Hanoverian succession. Therefore, he insisted that each portion of the Empire

ought to be allowed to govern itself in strictly local concerns. Price did not aim merely at arguing abstract political ideas through his writings, although some of his critics accused him of it. Rather, he wished to assert principles which he believed to be embodied in the British constitution and the basis of government in all British areas.

Price's opposition to the British measures which preceded the American Revolution was also tempered with his economic ideas. Fearful lest Britain should lose the colonies, he was anxious that the colonial markets and American sources of raw materials should be retained. He was also apprehensive that Britain's growing national debt would imperil the nation's economy if the war continued very long. Convinced that trade was the important link among the various parts of the Empire, he believed that Britain should retain control of trade for the good of the entire Empire, an aim which did not conflict with the idea of local political autonomy.

Although Price did not at first openly advise the Americans to declare independence, he encouraged them in their struggle for local political autonomy. When it became evident that the British government would not make any concessions to the American colonies, he began to view them as nearly lost. After the United States signed the treaty of alliance with France, however, he realized that they would never again be a part of the Empire. Consequently he supported their demand for independence and warned them not to make peace on any terms which did not recognize their independence.

Price's observations were not merely negative; rather, they reflected a positive stand. Not content to lament British action which seemed not only despotic but also very absurd, he encouraged the Americans to fight in order to gain recognition of their rights, for he believed that the temporary inconveniences and expense of such a struggle were insignificant as compared with the rights for which they would be fighting. Although accused of having ulterior designs in publishing his

observations, his motive was his unselfish interest in mankind. As a Christian minister he had a strong concern in the welfare of all human beings, and he hoped to gain for himself the approval of people who favored liberty rather than any material rewards. Considering himself a citizen of the world as well as a citizen of Great Britain, he pleaded the cause of general liberty, although his writings were directed toward supporting the Americans in their fight for freedom. Though his principles of liberty and government were by no means original, he gave unusual applications and adaptations of them to a new situation. Rejecting the idea of virtual representation, he insisted that the Americans should be allowed to pass their own laws and tax themselves. He denied that one country could lawfully extend its authority over another, and he adapted that argument to the American problem by viewing the colonies as a region with distinctly different problems from those of other parts of Britain. Favoring local autonomy for the Americans, he supported complete independence for them after he became convinced that compromise was impossible, for he felt that their rights were more important than their retention in the Empire.

Through his writings Price left a positive though immeasurable influence. Actually he advised general improvements rather than specific means of accomplishing them. The similarity between many of his ideas and those which received widespread support among Americans a few years later indicates that his words were not ignored. Price and Jefferson shared similar beliefs concerning land holding, agrarian interests, religious liberty, and the inalienable rights of the people. Whether his writings influenced men like Jefferson to adopt his views is difficult to determine, although it is evident that the constant repetition of his words of advice had some effect. He certainly strengthened the belief of many Americans in liberal principles.

Price's contribution in the American Revolution was significant. Through his published writings and correspondence he urged the American people to insist upon the preser-

vation of their liberties. The hearty approval which the City Council of London awarded his *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty* was a worthy tribute both to his motives and to his ideas, for his remarks contained vigorous accusations against the British administration. Moreover, the book's extensive sale and circulation and the numerous replies to it reflected the importance attached to it. His additional publications revealed his steadfast support to a broad segment of the people in America as well as in Britain. At the same time, his friendship and correspondence with many Americans of prominence gave added inspiration and support to their cause. Price thus became an intermediary between the leaders in America and political figures in Great Britain who were disposed to favor the Americans. He was a political catalyst to the extent that he helped to strengthen and reinforce the sentiments of many of the leading men in the infant United States. The fact that Yale awarded Price and Washington the Doctor of Laws degree on the same day indicated in a measure not only the high esteem in which Price was held but also the significance attached to his efforts on behalf of the Americans. The extensive publication in the United States of his *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution* was further evidence of the interest of the American people in the opinions of one of their staunchest supporters. Moreover, the insistence with which several eminent Americans, including Franklin, Jefferson, and Rush, urged him to continue writing on behalf of the United States further reflected the importance of his influence. His contribution, then, was readily and widely acknowledged, though, of course, it was — and is still — impossible to assess accurately for want of a meaningful medium of evaluation.

A NOTE ON THE SOURCES

Since his own time, Price has not been adequately remembered by students of history. Not actively a politician himself, his political views have been overlooked in the study of the broad movements which prompted him to write his politi-

cal observations. Brief biographies of Price and studies of his moral philosophy are helpful for a general understanding of his background, interests, and philosophy. Of primary importance in the study of Price and the American Revolution are his published writings on the American problem, *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, Additional Observations on the Nature and Value of Civil Liberty, Two Tracts on Civil Liberty, A Sermon Delivered to a Congregation of Protestant Dissenters at Hackney* (1779), and *A Discourse Addressed to a Congregation at Hackney on Feb. 21st, 1781.*

A study of the contemporary reactions to Price's writings is very helpful in ascertaining the importance attached to his observations. The many replies to his views printed in the form of books and pamphlets are important in this connection, as are the reviews in *The Critical Review, The Gentleman's Magazine, The London Chronicle, The Monthly Review,* and *The Scot's Magazine.*

Of even greater importance in discovering Price's thoughts and beliefs concerning the American struggle are his letters to contemporaries. Although many letters written by Price and his American friends during the American Revolution were undoubtedly destroyed or lost, a large amount of their correspondence rests in various libraries in England and the United States. The principal collections of letters to or from Price are found in the Price collections in the Bodleian Library, the British Museum, and the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society; in the Benjamin Franklin collections in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, the Library of Congress, the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the University of Pennsylvania Library, and Yale University Library; in the James Bowdoin and John Temple collections in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society; in the Thomas Jefferson collection in the Library of Congress; in the Ezra Stiles and Jonathan Trumbull collections in Yale University Library; in the Henry Laurens collection in the Library of the Long Island Historical Society; in the Richard Henry Lee collection in the Alderman

Library, University of Virginia; in the Joseph Priestley collection in the Library of the American Philosophical Society; in the Benjamin Rush collection in the Library Company of Philadelphia; in the Papers of the Continental Congress in the Library of Congress; and in miscellaneous collections in the Library of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston Public Library, New York Public Library, and Dr. Williams's Library, London.

VITA

John Philip Agnew was born November 15, 1920, in Ogden, Illinois. After attending the public schools of Ogden, he entered the University of Illinois in the fall of 1938. In the spring of 1942 he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts with highest honors in history. After joining the United States Naval Reserve in the autumn of that year, he was on active duty until May, 1946, serving aboard ship in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Asiatic waters. A supply and disbursing officer, he was released from active duty with the rank of Lieutenant junior grade. He was awarded a graduate scholarship at the University of Illinois in the spring of 1946 and commenced his graduate studies in September of the same year. After receiving the degree of Master of Arts in history in June, 1947, he continued his studies as a graduate fellow. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Kappa Phi, Phi Eta Sigma and Phi Alpha Theta. In June, 1947, he was married to Marilyn Sidnell of Lakewood, Ohio.